

**THE DALAI LAMA**

- I. As a result of recent Tibetan developments Prime Minister Nehru in a dilemma, caught between widespread Indian sympathy for Tibetans and the need to conciliate Chinese Communists, whose military position on India's border is now increasingly strong.
  - A. Nehru's answer has been to maintain carefully limited Indian Government position of giving asylum to Dalai Lama and fellow refugees while avoiding any public support which would imply political sponsorship.
- II. Dalai Lama, for his part, has felt his way cautiously towards a strong role as exiled political leader of his people.
  - A. Nehru has urged limitation to purely spiritual activities, but Dalai Lama has taken steadily stronger public as well as behind-the-scenes position in advocating Tibetan case both to the world at large and to the Governments of India and the United States.
  - B. To Nehru's distress, on 20 June Dalai Lama came close to proclaiming government-in-exile when he said "Wherever I am, I am accompanied by my government, which the Tibetan people recognize as the Government of Tibet."
  - C. Dalai Lama might have gone further, and sooner, had he been more certain of finding support elsewhere if his position in India became untenable.

D. He went as far as he did only after receiving assurances <sup>from Washington</sup> ~~through clandestine channels~~ <sup>in India</sup> that, if his position ~~and~~ became untenable, the U.S. Government would help him find other asylum.

1. Dalai Lama was urged in the same message to present his case to the world as strongly as possible while seeking to avoid a rupture of relations with the GOI.

III. On Tuesday (28 July) ~~communicated~~ <sup>came from</sup> a message ~~in which~~ the Dalai Lama stated <sup>in</sup> he hoped to obtain recognition ~~for~~ his government-in-exile from some nation, even though it be one with unimportant or no relations with the Government of India, in order to set a precedent.

A. Dalai Lama specifically requested U.S. Government assistance in obtaining such recognition.

B. He asked whether, if no government is willing to extend him recognition while he remains in India, the U.S. Government would recommend that he establish a government-in-exile elsewhere; and if so, where.

IV. At present, active study being given to: problems of presenting Tibetan case before the United Nations; to legal basis for doing so; and to means of finding a sponsor.

A. While no decision reached on any of these issues, it is clear that Dalai Lama will feel greatly let down if at least some of the Free World nations do not take an active role in presenting his case and in seeking some concrete action such as

condemnation by the General Assembly.

B. Dalai Lama is well-educated in Tibetan terms; in our terms, however, <sup>while</sup> ~~he is~~ deeply patriotic <sup>he is</sup> but politically unsophisticated person who cannot be expected to comprehend complex issues which must be considered by various Free World governments in deciding their positions even in this clear-cut case of Communist wrongdoing.

V. There would be two possible bases for a case before the United Nations: A charge of Chinese Communist violation of the human rights provisions of the United Nations Charter, or a charge of violating the Genocide Convention—a United Nations agreement.

A. Probability of some form of action in the United Nations at least on Genocide basis is heightened by a 206-page report documenting genocide charges issued last Friday ( 24 July) by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).and submitted to the United Nations Secretary-General.

VI. Unfortunately, the soundings ~~[which are taken]~~ taken in various Far Eastern countries indicate that, with the exception of the Governments of South Vietnam and the Republic of China, no Asian government is willing to take the lead in sponsoring the Tibetan case at the United Nations or in granting asylum to the Dalai Lama should he have to leave India.

A. South Vietnam is of course not a member of the UN, so could not be a sponsor; sponsorship by the Chinese Nationalists should be avoided if the Tibetan case is to have its fullest impact on Asians in general.

**VII. Reasons for Asian unwillingness to act vary from country to country.**

- A. Burma does not wish to compound its difficulties with the Chinese Communists over Burma's disputed northern border.**
- B. Reasons for Thailand's foot-dragging are not entirely clear but involve among other factors the different form of Buddhism practiced there.**
- C. Moslem countries and the Catholic Philippines are not willing to take any initiative as long as the Buddhist countries remain on the side lines.**

**VIII. The lack of support by Asian governments has extended even to an unwillingness to offer the Dalai Lama official invitations to visit their countries.**

- A. Although the United States has informed the Dalai Lama that we consider an early visit to Asian capitals desirable, he has refused to do so except in response to an official initiative from one or more, probably feeling that an unofficial visit might cut the ground from under his claim to being the head of a government-in-exile.**
- B. He has, however, indicated willingness to send delegates representing him to countries which extend nonofficial invitations.**